226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast
823 which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from
184 the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are after-
443 wards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed
492 over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another
685 boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remmerative.

443 445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

province of Nader, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.
443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply
442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

443 conditions and adjust his prices accordingly. The fellah, on
442 the other hand, has no such information channel and merely
435 attempts to get the best price he can with his limited supply of information. The fellah sells his eggs, or almonds, or oranges, to the big buyers almost as soon as he contacts one of them at the marketplace. Since his lots are so small, any fluctuation in the price of the commodity during the day would only remotely affect him and he prefers to get his selling activity over with quickly so that he can get on to his other market activities--buying and social intercourse. It would be far from the market style of the Berber to spend hours prowling the suq in search of an optimum moment to sell. Only in those commodities which the producer sells directly to the consumer (fellah to fellah) is there much time spent in marketing goods. Only in the absence of the large-scale merchant must the tribesman await the disposition of his goods.

It is only on rare occasions that the large-scale merchant attempts to sell what he has bought in the same market. The only instances that I know of were in the case of selling to wholesalers or restaurant owners from the city of Alhucemas who came to the rural suqs to buy for their immediate need, taking advantage of special friendships and buying in lots so large that the price advantage for the large-scale merchants of transporting to another area was offset by the quantity of the purchase. This, however, was rare. Most merchants of this magnitude attempted to derive their profits through their transporting facility.

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
● 442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place [494] [492] to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of [435] [437] bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical 443 445 categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

443 445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

443 444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 571 [128] These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand,
[434] dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which